

A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

his Speech in Parliament on Friday the 10. of October 1690.
upon his Ma^ys demand of more supplyes.

I wil not entertain the house, with a melancholy reflexion, on the florishing condition England was in two years ago, nor on the heavy misfortune it now feeleth; the sadder prospect of what we are yet like to suffer, & expedients how we may be drawn out of our ill state, wil better employ your time and study; and since our happiness or misery depends on pursuing this matter rightly, by a wise, vigorous, and speedy resolution of Parliament, I think my self bound in conscience, as every member is, to speak my thoughts freely, and lay before you as necessary the commonly receivd cause of all our evils. Every body knows, this was a large spread fear, that our Religion and liberty were in danger to be lost, and in their stead Popery and slavery like to come in, what ground there was for this apprehension, the considering men only, who saw the snake under the grass, were then sensible: most others are since convinc'd, this noise and clamor, with all its train of subsidiary reports, was but the effect of Interest and malice, Ambition and discontent; that the late Kings murther, the E. of Ex^r. death, a supposititious P. of w. and a league with France, to cut Protestants throats, were publik shams upon the people; of kin to the declarations foisted on us, in the P of Oranges name; which, without affront to his Ma^y, cannot be supposd his, since they have bin no more made good, than the others prov'd. As for Braddons libel, tis plain 'twas writ, to retreve a pillord fellows reputation, and pick our pokets; and had he not wanted wit, as wel as mony, he had not publishd a pamphlet, of which the title alone is a sufficient confutation, nor told the world, contrary to his designe, that both the House of Lords and the Earls neerest relations, beleev'd him his own Executioner. Nor is the non sense of the league less clear; a King without subjects is an empty title, and ours could not be supposd so mad as to think the way, to promote his Religion, was by the destruction of his people, to unkink himself. But M^r Speaker, allowing him a Papist, and desirous of liberty, not for the common ease of tender consciences, nor for the public good, peace, trade, and wealth, its natural consequences, but for a shooing horn, to draw on his own Religion; could this desire be criminal, wherein the most of his subjects, on a general pol, woud be found to agree, when if granted even by Par-

liament (which for its legal constitution our Divines from his being head of the church do not think necessary) it cou'd signify nothing to the purpose: it has bin settld in Holland above a 100. years, (in halt which time, for want of it, we have smarted under two Godly Rebellions) without once alarming the people, or subverting the state, for security of their establishd Presbytery. Was it then possible, it cou'd prevail more against ours, fence'd in by penal laws, guarded by a Protestant Army, in which there were not 200. Papists Officers and privat men, til, upon the too late believd Invasion, 3000. Irish were calld over; secur'd by a Protestant Parliament and a protestant people, exceeding the Papists 100. for one, and defended by a learned Clergy, 20. thousand at least in number, and by more women, those who are and those who hope to be their wives, in this case no weak Army, besides that great one of the noncon preachers, all equally enemies to Popery; and lastly shut out, by a stronger power, than all the rest, the large posession of impropriations and Abby lands? Ad to this, that the K. was towards 60. in a declining age, wthout a son, til after the Rebellion was formd, and upon the brink of execution. But tho he had a son, and might yet have more, might not they, as all the others, very probably dy young, and leave the stage to the 3. next Protestant heires, not unlike to encrease their number? But if they shou'd not, was it to be doubted, that the father woud dy, and leave them under age to the education of a Protestant Parliament? Was nothing to be allowd to probability and human chance, nor any care of Religion left to God and Providence? were real present evils, sins against reason, Christianity and the law of Nations, to be run into, to avoid remote uncertain mischeefs, against whose event there were 10000. to one odds, being, at most, but barely possible, and attended with an infinity of accidents? Had our Bps, sedately weighd these things, they imposd upon, as the unthinking croud, cou'd not have refusd, what the K. desired, what their duty and the honor of Religion exacted, a Declaration, they had not, as was craftily publishd, invited the P. of O. they cou'd not but have foreseen the ill consequences of his voyage, and were bound in conscience, to have prevented them; by reminding the people, in and out of the

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pulpits, that our dangers were real from a foreign and but imaginary from a Domestic Army; that a Parliament, then imprudently petitioned for, while that Army remaind in the Kingdom, coul not be free, and consequently was impracticable; and that Rebellion was foolish, pernicious in this world and damnable in the next. We all know, M^r. Speaker, that the hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, and by him often turn'd of a sudden, directly contrary, to mens expectations. K. I 2d. never seemd more fix'd in his Religion, than H. 8. who was surprizingly changd, from a zealous Champion for Popery, a Writer against Luther, into a persecutor of Papists. Was it not he, who layd the foundations of our Religion, and his son and daughter that built it up; And het 44 years Reigne and the succession of 5. Protestants Princes that confirm'd, and settl'd it? Tis wel known, how long and with what difficulties, Popery was a rooting out, notwithstanding the great temporal advantages gain'd by the change: surely then, considering the mighty prejudices against it, the worldly losses to be sustain'd, its reestablishment coul not have bin apprehended by men in their wits, by men taught to believe miracles were ceas'd. And yet we, M^r. Speaker like men prepar'd for destruction, by an infatuation from above, made to fear where there was nothing to fear, have made our fancied evils real, by inviting the Prince of Orange to protect us and our Religion. As if a little Prince, servant to the Hollanders, with respect be it spoken, unable to defend his own smal posessions, was not only worthy to be our K. but also fit, to uphold us and our Religion, against all the power of France and force of Ireland: or, as if a Dutch Presbyterian and an English Papist, were not equally unlike to support, their common enemy, the church of England. But alas! this was not the single contradiction to sense and reason we were made to swallow; We coul be perswaded, that alliances with the Pope the Emperor, K. of Spain Duke of Savoy and all the Popish Bps. and Princes of Germany, were entred into, only to secure our laws and our Religion, and not to enable the great contriver, to snatch a Crown from a father and uncle's Head, against all the laws of God and man: But we had no sooner prov'd ourselfs, for his sake, Traitors and, to our own shame, cloath'd him with robes of Majestey, than he drew us in, a sad return to our kindnes, to maintain by our blood and by our treasure, all over Europe, unnecessary and destructive wars; wars, that, under pretence of preserving the Protestant, the Christian Religion; and put all others to the same hazard, by giving the turks so great an advantage against the Emperors, that have

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changd our freedom from taxes, into an insupportable load of Impositions; and to heighten the evil, as our strength to bear them grows les, our necessity to continue them, grows greater and greater. Our dear Confederates the Dutch, have alredy supplanted us in our trade to India, not to be preserv'd elsewhere, if Ireland be lop'd from the Monarchy, and leagued with France; between which Kingdoms our Merchants are oblig'd, to run as were the gantlope, in all their southern and western Voyages. Our shipping and seamen, the walls and ramparts of England, are alredy throundown and destroyd; and the Nation expos'd to the first Invader. Our profitable, glorious, Dominion at sea is gon; lost, I fear for ever, upon our coasts, at our own doores, lost to the French, our old despised enemies; whose K. in a printed letter to the A B P of Paris brags, he had not only beaten the English, who for many ages boasted themselfs Masters of the channel, but together with them, the Dutch: Nor is this all, the whole Kingdom is impoverish'd; our wealth drain'd, exported in specie, by Millions, to maintain forreiners, in their own Countrys; as if it had not bin plague and shame enuff, to have tamely suffer'd, whole swarms, of 'em, to come to devour and enslave us at home. In a word, our honor and reputation, for wisdom and courage, are vanish'd, and Englishmen become the scorn and reproach of all the world. For alas M^r. Speaker! we are not beaten by the French alone, we are worsted, by the poor contemptible Irish, bas'd before Lymric, by a runaway Army, reproach'd for Cowardize, repulsd after a breach made, and our new K. return'd incognito, with witherd laurels, glad to steal away, not from the Irish only, but from his own Army, unwillingly left behind. Two summers are spent, and France neither over run, nor cantond as was promisd, it shoud, before halfe the fist were ended; but on the contrary victorious at sea and land: and the Irish, whose Country was to cost but a look, just as much blood as England, more like to conquer us, than we them. They have broaken and destroyd 2. great Armys, kill'd the mighty Schomberg, and forc'd our Cesar himself, after all his vain boasts and mistaken victory at the Boyne, to run away ingloriously: The French are Masters at sea, engag'd by Intrest, a stronger ty than friendship, to succor them, with all necessarys for life and war. Upon which, the Irish Papists who o. for 1. exceed the Protestants there, are fully bent; united as one man, sworn, neither to give nor take quarter, but to dy like men, with sword in hand, rather than be extirpated at home, or sold abroad for slaves; a fatal effect, of a resolution we ought longer to have conceald. To prove they wil act, what is resolv'd, by their bloody oath and association,

30. and a Lieutenant, lately attackd by 500. of our men , in Grange Castle neer Digo reduced to 7. refusing to take quarter , blew it up , to their own and our mens destruction. Nor wil the men alone fight desperately , witnes Lymric and even the Boyn , but hunger and cold , the air and climate wil probably kil those , that may happen to scape their fury. And tho by our new troopes , our third Army , we shoud carry Cork and Kin-sale , twoud but expose greater numbers , to death and certain misery. Since the beginning of this war , the Irish have not lost in all 5000; and yet wehave lost , at least 50. thousand of our men , and above five millions of our mony. This immense summ is not only thrown away , but our wel furnishd stores exhausted , and yet the fleet and Army so far in arrear , that to them and others the K. wil ow by Christmas , what we must pay , a debt of . millions more. And yet after all , his Maty. (who has alredy had more mony , than all our former Ks. since the conquest , in 600. years have had from Parliaments) is pleasd , to lay the fault at our doores , and on the raines , which during the whole siege unluckily hapnd not to fal , that Lymeric was not taken and Ireland conquerd. Towards which , we must immediatly supply more mony (now the only busines and use of Parliaments) without interposeing any affaires , tho never so important , if we woud not be esteemed enemies to the K. and state , nor worse treated by France , than any of the Confederates. A very pleasant and grataul prospect , a worthy return to all our labors , what we coud not but have expected , had we given ourselvs leisure to consider and not , hand over head plungd into so foolish and unnecessary wars ; wars by which we were always sure to loose , and coud never hope to get ; into which we were hurried by the Intrest of our present K. not the Intrest of the Nation , two things directly opposit. This , undoubtely , was to have stood Neuter what K I designd , as plainly appears , by refusing the fr Ks. offerrs & to have enjoyd , the un speakeable benefits of peace & trade ; while our former enemies weaknd and destroyd each other. The greatness of France , might be dreadful to their Neighbors , on the Continent , but not to us Islanders , sufficiently securd by our scituacion which makes us unfit to extend our Empire , any where but on sea. This peace alone coud do , & therefore our Envious Dutch Rivals contrivd to interruptit. The reconquest of Guien and Normandy , and other peeces we had in France , neithar possible nor worth the keeping , was a gin to catch wood cocks , to draw into war , weak politiciens and unthinking fooles . But tho peace was ours , war was the Intrest of the K. not to pursue it , but to encourage the

Confederates , and induce the fr. K. by peace , to confirm him in his new acquisitions ; the advice of his forrein Cabinet Counsellors , discoverd and publishd , by a Nobleman (a late Minister of state) in a letter to his friend in the Country . Vve have promisd to stand by the K. in these unlucky wars , with our lives and fortunes , and have as wisely suffisid him , to bring an Army of strangers to hold us to our words ; of which he foresaw we coud not but soon grow weary ; & indeed as matters stand there is some hazard in going back , but nothing but inevitable ruin , in going forward , in continuing longer the war. For which upon a serious computation I find no less , than 7. or 8. millions ex. pected. Tis a prodigious sum , mr. Speaker ; but his Maty. tels us , there is *double danger* in refuse ing it , yet points at no singl advantage we shal have by granting it ; no hopes , noe assurances of conquering our enemies , nor of even being easd from the burden of taxes : dos it not then becom the wisdom of Parlement to consider , before it be too late , to what end is this vast profusion of English blood & English treasure ? To enquire and be satisfied , what shal be our gin at last , and when *we poor Commons* , shal have our *great masters leave* , to cease from taxing the Nation ? whose ability to pay new Impositions , the Houfe wil soon find , by the following considerations. Our inhabitants are reckond 6. millions , and their yearly ordinary expence , in times of peace , ro amount to 40 millions , estimating it , as low as reasonably it can be , at 20 nobles or 6. 13. 4. ahead , for old and young , rich and poor. The Rent of our land , 24. millions of acres , at 6. l. 8. d. an acre , one with another , is computed to make 8. millions : and the rent of houses , and other personel estate , 8. millions more ; and that the remaining 14. millions of expence are to be supplied , by the labor and industry of the people. that our own Country not affording us all conveniences , the products of our labor are to be barterd or commuted abroad , with other Nations That the surplus of our products , or their returns , above our consumtion , is cald wealth. That in time of war , there are as many mouths to eat , as in times of peace , & fewer hands to work. That many becoming soldiers and others , by the interruption of commerce , having nothing to do becoming idle , grow a greater burden to the common wealth , to be fed , out of the general stock , the surplus of others. That the current cash , part of the surplus or riches of the Kingdom , computed not to exced five Millions , must . of necessity , pass thro all the peoples hands 8. times a year Now if most of the mony granted , or to be granted , be exported in specie , or in wedges , to forrein Countrys ; and

if the war discourage manufacure, destroys, at least, shuts up our Golden mines, traffic; it can no longer be a doubt, that poverty, like an armed man, is speedily coming to devour the Nation. Nor, that, shortly, when our present stock is wholly spent, mony wil be wanting, for victuals and cloaths, not to mention taxes; and sooner, to supply the necessary circulation for the ordinary marketting of the people. That our trade, on which depend, our necessary expences, as wel as our Riches, or superfluities, the only proper fond for taxes, is infinitely decayd, dos but too sensibly appear, by the great fal of the Customes and Excize, and of our private Rents. and by the no demand or price for native commoditycs; & likewise, that the whole Kingdom, as wel as particular marchants, and dealers, is upon the very point of breaking, of being vtterly ruind and undon: And yet mr Speaker, this our condition, bad as it is, wil grow worse and worse, the longer the war continues; which exhausting, by degrees, our stock of wealth, alredy neer the bottom, and obliging every body, from the highest to the lowest, to retrench, towards its charge, from their privat necessary expences, must naturally ere long, produce a famine (our protestant brethren as wel as our Army in Irland being to be fed out of our Granary) and a general tumult and Revolution; & to complete our calamities, must expose us to the mercy of enraged enemies; who but too wel know our circumstances. The politics of France, some years sinc published, tel the world, that 2. or 3. years war at sea wil ruin England: how much then must the addition of expensive wars, at land, hasten our fate? and who wil secure us, that this war shal not unavoidably bring upon us, what before, without reason, we were afraid of, and took the wrong methods to prevent, Popery ad Slavery? These mr Speaker are very sad, bnt at this time very proper speculations. The war, and the consequent obstructions of trade, & the Protestants exportation of Coyne in specie, reduc'd Ireland, in 4. months, to brasse mony; and soon after to a necessity of starving, had they not bin recevd by France. Consider I beseech you seriously, and in time, what Country, what Confederat can be found, willing or able to succor us, when the war has quite emptied our fuller purses, and reduc'd us to want bread: as without à miracle it must in few months, if, as hitherto, we continue, not only to maintain our own fleet & Armys, but to support others also with our wealth. Mr. Speaker tis no longer à secret, that this confederacy was built on a sandy foundation, on the presumption of a peace with Turkey, a Rebellion in France, and an Invasion from England Which last our now K. when P. of. O. did

not only engage, but has sinc undertaken, to pay monthly, during the league, incredible, impossible sums of mony, to the Emperor, the Dukes of Savoy & Brandenburg & Other Northern Princes We have groand under these payments, but the other expectations are all Vanishd, like the ravings of mad men and the dreames of fooles; and the Allies have now no other prospet, but that the war, so rashly undertaken, must quickly end, in an inglorious peace, or, if longer pursued, in an absolute conquest. And that this is his Majestys own sense, his speech dos but too cleerly evince. He sees all their measures are broken, and that his seizing on the Crown, has bin a prejudice to his Confederates, and an advantage to France & by giveing the stubborn Irish, an opportunity to divert ad employ all our forces. This made the Emperor, and the rest let him know, before he went for Irland, that if he did not put an end to the war there, & before the last Campane were over, invade France or transport his Arms into Flanders, they shoud be forcd to take other measures, to think no more of renewing the league, which expires in decembre, but shift, as wel as they coud, for their own Security, by a seperat peace. Upon her Majesties recalling her troopes from Flanders, there was a lecond mesage, for the Dutch Regiments & the arrears of monthly payments, not like to be satisfactorily answard. in the Ks absence, whose mountain promises, be fore he set out, since dwindl'd to nothing, not her Matics. after assurances, byher Envoy Mr Harbord, coud appease the Allies, or stop their mouths from roaring, that our K. and the Elector Palatin had out witted and trapand them into a ruinous war, sollicite'd the league, not for the common good, torun doun France, but for privat ends to get a Croun and secure the Palatinat. They now acknowlege the obstinacy of the Irish wil make the promisd Invasion from England a jest; and the easy defcat of Savoy, the Rebellion of the Hugonots in Musquerade, the new Converts, an empty project; & too late conclude, France was to have bin run down at first or never. Mr. Speaker, this is a sad Conclusion; of which late experience and the Greek and Roman historyes Shoud have forewarnd us and them; there being nothing more certain, than that where several weak Princes, or Common wealths, Confederated against a stronger state or Monarch, have faild to conquer at the begin ning, they have but lessn'd their own and encreasid their enemies power: for, a Campane or two spending their first heats and fury, their different Intrests, opinions, jealousies and disputes, want of magazins, provisions and mony, have always, as necessarily they must, made them weary of the war, break their leagus,

and force all severally to a precarious peace. This the French K. knew ful wel, & there fore woud not be surprizd. the only proper, tho' difficult method, in such cases. In'tead of being found un provided, as the Confederates expected, He was before hand, and unable, by any efforts, to engage in his Int'rets, our late English K. (So little truth there was, in that malicious report of their being leagud together; of which Lord Sunderlands publishd Letter, and his known refual of succo^r of men and shipping agst. the P. of O's attempt, and our defection, have left no room to doubt) He stays not for proclaiming the concerted war, but nimbly rushes, into the heart of their Country, before they were redy, and in the depth of winter, in few days, cut them out work. more than enuff, for the whole Following summer; for the Second is past, and yet Philipsburg remains un attempted; and bythat advantage, & what our Revolutions have given him, has ever since securd his own and made their Countrys, the seat of war. whereof, after so much success and good fortune, the usual effects of wise Counsel & prudence, He cannot reasonably be supposd weary; especialy, considering He has yet unspent ful 2 years charge, of what his fore sight made him provide against the Impending storm; and that He has bin fur ther able, to encrease this mighty treasure, for other 2. years, with a 9th. part of all the Cash & plate in his Kingdom, without murmur or Complaint, by an easy, insensible tax, ordering all to the Mint, and new stamping and railing the Value of his Coyn; no argument of an empty, but a ful exchequer: a contrivance to encrease the current cash and ease abundance of his subje&ts, by making useful vast heapes of wealth, that before lay dead and unprofitable. And to ad to his good fortune, his Very enemies, by prizes at sea and contributions at land, have born a great part of the charge. What he has Spent of his own, mr. Speaker is not, like ours, consum'd, sent out of the Nation, but distributed among his subje&ts; which, circulating, returns to his own coffers, fill'd, not by new Impositions, but by wel husbanding his ordinary Revenu. Tis true, that some of his subje&ts have made him Voluntary presents, but none have bin taxd aliver, a shilling since the war began; of which, they are so little sensible, that they can hardly be said to be the poorer for it; the danger is kept far enuff off, in the enemys country, and the expence whatever it be, is all made at home. Nor has he provided anew fond only, but a new Army also, of Frenchmen, not Forreiners: commissions are already issued for the immediat levying 30. thousand men; tho, at the same time, he dos not believe, the Confede-

rats able, who possibly may for a shew renew the league, to continue the war, another ampane: He knows England, Spain & Holland are drain'd, and that the Emperor, no less exhausted, without a peace, must be undon, loose his Imperial Crown to Louis, or his hereditary Countrys to the Turk; and that all the Confederates can expect no better, than they have hitherto met, dis appointments, losses and disgrace; that therefore the peace, intended to be mediated this winter by the Pope, wil be gredily leapt at by the Catholiks, and that the Protestants must soon after submit. Many are of opinion the Dutch wil lead up the Dance, as they did in the last, if French mony and the need and avarice of the Northern Princes, do not give these the Start-their Armys pillaging and subje&ts mutining shew them all poor and less patient than we under oppression. Mr. Speaker, Jam persuaded this matter, is not onely on foot, but Very far advanced. The Fr. K. who usd to conceal his designes, woud not otherwise be now so open, nor declare he woud by next summer, restore K. J. to his Crown or loose his own; that in order to it, he woud Invade us, the P. of O. Rebels, with 3. distinct Armys: in the East with an Army of French, in the west with one of Irish, and in the North with a mixt one of Scots and Irish. That his Smaller fregates and priateers shoud be employd, this winter, in carrying Arms Ammunition & Corn &c. For Ireland, & in hindering or takeing all we shal send thither: wherein if we faill our protestant brethren and Army must starve, the Country being intirely eaten up and wasted. The Irish, en couragd since the siege of Lymric, by the Fr. Ks assurance of ful succors, have resolu'd, not on ly to treat as enemies, any that shal hearken to, or propose conditions with the P. of O, but undertaken to beat back, before the 15. of March, into Ulster, Londonderry or the sea, all the English; as their Ancestors Formerly did the Danes from Dublin, when, as now; all, able, took up Arms. He also publicly boasts, that his next years intended fleet, of a 100. great ships and 30 Gallys, shal be so early at sea, as to burn ours and the Dutch' men of war, in the harbors, at least to hinder their conjunction. But this is not all Mr. Speaker, our presbyterian brethren, enraged, to be outwitted by ourk, (so they cal his quitting them forus of the church of England, and breaking the promise, they pretend, of dividing among them, our benefices and Ecclesiastical posessions in return forthe Crown they gave him) have vowed revenge, and covenanted with their scotch brethren, to bring home K. , upon terms. These Mr Speaker are not vain surmizes, but wel grounded truths; I my self know one of the 3 Agents,

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You see Mr Speaker, out ill circumstances, our dangers at home and abroad. I shal now humbly offer the best expedients I coud devise, to prevent our threatn'd Ruine. First, that we complement the K. with a vote of 7. or 8. Millions, to the end we may gain time and the confederats be encouraged to renew the league I cal it a complement, because our universal poverty can never suffer it to be effectual. A land tax wil not do much; the Rents are not only fallen, but the tenants, in many places, unable to hold their leases, on condition to pay but the taxes and ordinary charges. The hearth mony, not 200 m lib. a year, was formerly a greevance to the poor, its revival now, when none are left rich, must needs be a greevance to all. An additional Custome on marchandise, when trade is lost, woud be ridiculous, and look like a tric. A general Excize woud be a sensible mark of approaching slavery, tedious in settling, vexatious in collecting, worth little in an impoverishd Country, Scarsly practicable in ours, whete all the townes and Citys are long and stragling, open and unwallid; and were there nosuch difficulties, few woud be found able, and fewer willing, to advance redy mony, the thing wanted, in so ticklish times, upon so uncertain a fond. The project of new adventurers, upon the Rebels estates of Ireland, woud be vain; none coud be found mad enuff, to part with mony, for the skin, before the bear were slain. You see then Mr Speaker how impossible it is, the

Kingdom shoud furnish the infinite summa of mony necessary for the war; a war set on foot, to enslave ourselvs, not to conquer France, as you may plainly read in the before cited letter; advice proper enuff from forrein Counsellors, but very unfit for an English K. and yet, by ours, pursued exactly to a tittle, whereby we have bin guilld out of so many millions and must have certainly lost our Invaded liberties, had Ireland bin conquerd, or France accepted of the peace propoasd: But that Monarch, who declares he wars for Glory, not against England bat the Rebels, not for victory but to restore an injurd Prince, did not only, with indignation, reject his offer, but by the Pope and Venetian Ambassador, acquainted the confederats, that our new K. woud have leſt them all in the lurch, woud he but have abandond Ireland, & deliverd into his hands K. J. and the P. of wales. Good God hast thou sufferd us, to place on the throne, a man resolved to outdo Cesar Borgia in all his Matchivlian policy, to purchase for a short life an ill got Dominion, by the inhuman sacrifice of a wife's father, a cozen German & an uncle; the tyrant Cromwel contented himself with a less pecece of cruelty, banishment of the lawfull heires. But the late restoration taught, it seems, this Prince, to conclude, in ills there coud be no saferty, but by being thortoly wicked; and the Crown woud stil totter on his head, till all pretenders were cut off. Mr. Speaker an honorable peace indeed woud have bin welcome, but since there is now no hope of that, but by a return to our duty, the next and only expedient left, to prove ourselvs men, Englismen, desirous to retreeve our honor, preserve our Religion, liberties and laws, against popish power and Presbyterian Tyranny, is to adjourn to Guildhal, re assume the Goverment, vote the City and Kingdom, into a posture of defense, and together with the lord Mayor and Common Councils concurrence, desire the lords, to make a Vertug of necessity, & invite home K. J. generously and without terms; Ourfist open act of folly was begun in December 98 at Guildhal, tis necessary, for our preservation, there to efface it, by a contrary act of wisdom. Thereis no other way, to hinder his return by blood, over our belly; Englands perpetual misery, an absolute conquest, not to be withstood, by a broken and divided people, attackd by two such enemies as France & Ireland. in this conjuncture, our only comfort is, that our truely English K. undutiful, as we are, stil loves us, and, for our sakes, had much rather ow his Crown to our Repentance, than to the sword of any forreiner. Tis time to reflect upon our condition, upon our own weakness and

our enemies strength , what in prudence we ought to have don before we engagd ; the first summer , our fleet was ill man'd , worse the last and hardly wil at al the next. Two great Armys are mouldred away , our stores are all exhausted , 5 millions of mony squandred , as many more due , and double , that sum necessary to raise 60 ore 70 thousand men , and furnish what is wanting : a matter not so easily compassd , had our wealth bin unconsumd. We did not in time consider , what now we find , that our riches were not an ever running spring , but a draw wel that woud dry up , that our silver mines were abroad and alyon in the way , and that the stock we had before hand coud not long support us and our Allyes ; who now despair of success & think of nothing but how to get handsomly off: must England then so knavishly drawn in, be left in the lurch , and at the expence of her own Ruine , pay the price of others folly & Ambition? what less can be expected if we longer opiniatre this war against France ; who has yet untouched a bank for four years charge , and if it coud be supposd to last longer, the greatest , richest & most warlike Nation in Europe , hitherto spard from taxes , to enable him to carry it on ; who , supplying , as their laws oblige them , but a single man for every parish , wil raise and maintain him a formidable Army , of a million & 700 men , the exact number of parishes , you read in Matchiavels abridgement of the state of France. we have Ireland to reduce , no easy work , yet to be endeavord at any rate , but never to be compassd' while in War with France ; whose effectual succors will enable them , to recover what , hitherto , they have lost , wholy for want of Ammunition & good Generals. Mr. Speaker tis not the P. of O. but we , the people of England & our posteritys . he has none to mind , that do & must suffer , we have born all the charge even of his unlucky expedition; He may wel be for continuing a war , by which if he do not gain , he is sure not to loose , for , at the worst , he can be , what he was before , statholder of Holland ; But we alas ! can be but slaves and beggars : in beginning the war , he considerd his own and not the Nations Intrest , & taught us , to end it , without regard to his. Charity begins at home , & without disputing , whether Kings were made for the people , or the people for kings , we are sure he is an idol of our own setting up , or rather set up a gainst our wills , by our fanatic enemies , for the destruction of our

church and state. Tis plain , his being K. depends , now on ours , on the peoples wil , and Without controversy a Parliament can & ought to undo , what à packd convention has done , when the safety of the commonwealth , dos , as now , so apparently require it. We are not yet Ihope so cowd , or over powerd by foreiners , but that we are able to send them packing With a vengeance , a thing we ought no longer to delay unles we resolve to continue madmen as Wel as fooles . By this action , we shal prevent Popery & slavery and regain all the blesseings and advantages of peace and trade , and can suffer or loose nothing , that is worth keeing. K. J. proceedings in Ireland , where he establishd liberty of conscience & confirmed the Prot Clergy in their posessions , shews him à common father to all his subjects; and that liberty of conscience and repeal of the tests woud content him ; concessions , we ought not to dispute , in better circumstances : that wil secure not destroy our religion , which may certainly subsist after the tests , as wel as it did a 100 years before they were made ; acts not pretended for Religion , but to secure , against danger From Popish recusants a Protestant Princes person ; which therefore makes them , or void , or use les , in the present conjuncture ; if here afer in a protestant Reigne , they are found necessary , a revival wil not be difficult ; in the mean time , their repeal or suspension , wil be a civility , a peece of justice , to our popish fellow subjects ; the Kings inclination & practice , even in Popish Countrys , in offices of the highest trust , about his person and in the state , & the smalnes of their number ; sufficiently secure us a gainst their ingrossing wholy his favors. a method our obstinacy for continuing them , might wel have made him change , the reason of contrayrs , always the same , making it as unsafe for him , to trust Protestants , as for a Protestant Prince to trust papists. Mr. Speaker , I have don , & conjure yon for the love of God , and your bleeding Country , to weigh what I have spoken , without favor or prejudice , to new or old K. or any other end , than the public Good , in the equal balance of wisdom & prudence , that after our Kings return , à legal Parliament , of which he has bin always Known a lover , may meet to reform and settle all our disorders , upon the rocky foundarions of truth and justice , of mutual confidence & amity . without which , it is impossible , that either King or subject can ever be happy.